

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 193188

55

ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 ISO-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 SS-15 ACDA-19 IO-15 NSCE-00 INRE-00 TRSE-00

MBFR-04 SAJ-01 (ADP) R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:RHFROWICK:DJM

APPROVED BY EUR/RPM:RHFROWICK

----- 085652

O R 280003Z SEP 73

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMCONSUL AMSTERDAM IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OSLO IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMCONSUL MONTREAL

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMCONSUL TORONTO

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 193188

AMCONSUL TURIN

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS

UNCLAS STATE 193188

E.O. 11652:

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: THE COMMITTEE OF NINE: ANNEX TWO OF FINAL REPORT

REF: LONDON 10645 NOTAL

NATO PLEASE PASS TO PHILIPPE DESHORMES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
FOR TRANSLATION

ACTION ADDRESSEES PLEASE PASS FOLLOWING TEXT OF ANNEX TWO
"MEMORANDA OF COMMENT, RESERVATION, OR DISSENT" FROM
DARNELL WHITT TO SENATOR JOHN AIRD (CANADA), SENATOR
MANLIO BROSIO (ITALY), M. MICHEL HABIB-DELONCLE (FRANCE),
PROFESSOR WALTER HALLSTEIN (FRG), LORD HARLECH (UK), MR.
HALFDAN HEGTUN (NORWAY), DR. IVO SAMKALDEN (NETHERLANDS),
SENATOR ISAN SABRI CAGLAYANGIL (TURKEY), DR. KARL MOMMER
(FRG), AMBASSADOR ALBERTO FRANCO NOGUEIRA (PORTUGAL), NORTH
ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT SIR JOHN PEEL (UK), PHILIPPE
DESHORMES (NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY), AND ANTHONY HARTLEY
(UK).

BEGIN TEXT

ANNEX TWO MEMORANDUM OF COMMENT, RESERVATION, OR DISSENT

GENERAL REMARKS.

SENATOR CAGLAYANGIL OFFERS THE FOLLOWING COMMENT REGARDING
THE FINAL REPORT: THIS REPORT CONSTITUTES A CONSENSUS
AMONG VARIOUS IDEAS AND VIEWS PUT FORWARD; AND AS SUCH ITS
GENERAL APPROVAL DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN, IN MY OPINION,
ADHERENCE TO EVERY SINGLE DETAIL CONTAINED THEREIN. FOR
INSTANCE, ALTHOUGH I AGREE IN GENERAL WITH THE VIEWS
EXPRESSED IN CHAPTER TWO SECURITY COOPERATION, I FEEL,
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 STATE 193188

HOWEVER, UNABLE TO ASSOCIATE MYSELF WITH THE VIEW CONTAINED
IN PARAGRAPH 10 WHERE IT IS STRESSED THAT STRATEGIC NUCLEAR
PARITY REQUIRES THAT THE STRATEGY OF FLEXIBLE RESPONSE BE
REVIEWED. I BELIEVE THAT ANY ADJUSTMENT WHICH MIGHT BE
NECESSITATED BY SUCH A DEVELOPMENT CAN BE CARRIED OUT
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EXISTING STRATEGY WITHOUT
HAVING TO REVIEW IT OR TO AFFECT ITS FUNDAMENTAL
PRINCIPLES.

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION, PARAGRAPH 2.

PROFESSOR HALLSTEIN OFFERS THE FOLLOWING COMMENT REGARDING
THE FIRST SENTENCE: SINCE THE CREATION OF THE ATLANTIC

ALLIANCE, THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM HAS UNDERGONE CONSIDERABLE CHANGES. THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) WAS CREATED AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE EXPANSIONISM AND AGGRESSIVENESS OF SOVIET POLICY TOWARD THE WEST. THE QUESTION MUST BE ASKED, THEREFORE, WHETHER THE CHANGES TOUCH UPON THE MOTIVES FOR THE CREATION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE ALLIANCE, IN PARTICULAR, WHETHER THEY AFFECT THE AIMS OR THE MEANS OF SOVIET POLICY. STATING THAT TENSIONS HAVE LOWERED IS NO PROPER ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION. FIRST, TENSION AND DETENTE ARE PSYCHOLOGICAL PHENOMENA. THEY ARE SYMPTOMS OF POLITICAL TENDENCIES RATHER THAN TANGIBLE FACTS ON WHICH CONCRETE POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS CAN BE BASED. AS HIGHLY IMPORTANT AS PSYCHOLOGY IS IN THE POLITICAL CONTEXT, WHAT REALLY MATTERS ARE THE FACTORS WHICH CREATE A PSYCHOLOGICAL SITUATION AND THE ACTIONS WHICH ARE CAUSED BY IT. THESE FACTORS AND ACTIONS, THEN, ARE OUR TRUE PROBLEMS. THEY ARE DEALT WITH IN THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS. SECONDLY, TENSION AND DETENTE ARE DIFFICULT TO DEFINE PRECISELY (WHAT IS "REAL" DETENTE?) AND THEREFORE AMBIGUOUS SYMPTOMS. DETENTE IS CERTAINLY DESIRABLE, BUT ALL AGREE THAT IT HAS NOT REMOVED THE UNDERLYING

CONFLICTS BETWEEN BOTH SIDES NOR ELIMINATED THE POSSIBILITY OF WAR. THIRDLY, IT IS IN THE NATURE OF TENSION AND DETENTE THAT THEY ARE NOT DURABLE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 193188

SITUATIONS. DETENTE CANNOT LAST WITHOUT THE CONSENSUS OF BOTH PARTNERS. THUS, IN THE PAST WE HAVE REPEATEDLY EXPERIENCED CHANGES BACK AND FORTH. HIGH POINTS OF TENSION (PRAGUE 1948, BUDAPEST 1956, CUBA 1962) ALTERNATED WITH LOW ONES (AFTER THE DEATH OF STALIN, AFTER THE END OF THE CUBA CRISIS, AND AFTER THE FALL OF KHRUSHCHEV).

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION, PARAGRAPH 7.

PROFESSOR HALLSTEIN PREFERS THE FOLLOWING WORDING FOR THE FIRST SENTENCE: VARIOUS DEVELOPMENTS -- PARTICULARLY THE TREATIES BETWEEN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION AND POLAND, THE FOUR POWER AGREEMENT ON BERLIN, THE INITIAL STRATEGIC-ARMS AGREEMENTS, THE TREATY BETWEEN THE TWO GERMAN STATES, AND THE COMMENCEMENT OF MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON EUROPEAN SECURITY -- ARE FIRST STEPS TOWARD AN IMPROVED EUROPEAN STABILITY AND EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION, PARAGRAPH 7.

MONSIEUR HABIB-DELONCLE OFFERS THE FOLLOWING COMMENT REGARDING THE SIXTH SENTENCE: THIS SENTENCE IS NOT APPROPRIATE. BY FORESEEING THE POSSIBILITY OF THE WEAKENING OF THE ALLIANCE, ONE CREATES THE VERY DOUBT

ONE WOULD LIKE TO SECURE AGAINST. MOREOVER, IT IS NOT DESIRABLE TO ENCOURAGE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE TO ACCUSE EACH OTHER OF WEAKENING IT. THE ALLIANCE IS BASED ON THE MUTUAL TRUST OF ITS MEMBERS AND ON THEIR BELIEF THAT THE ALLIANCE CONTINUES TO BE NECESSARY FOR THEIR SECURITY.

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION, PARAGRAPH 8.

MONSIEUR HABIB-DELONCLE OFFERS THE FOLLOWING COMMENT REGARDING PARAGRAPH 8: THIS PARAGRAPH CANNOT UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES MEAN THAT PROBLEMS OF ECONOMICS ON THE ONE HAND AND SECURITY ON THE OTHER HAND COULD BE BOUND TOGETHER IN A SINGLE NEGOTIATION. EACH OF THESE PROBLEMS MUST BE TREATED SPECIFICALLY IN A SPIRIT OF UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 193188

MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND SEARCHING FOR THE BEST CONSOLIDATION OF THE INTERESTS OF THE MEMBER-STATES.

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION, PARAGRAPH 9.

PROFESSOR HALLSTEIN OFFERS THE FOLLOWING COMMENT REGARDING THE FIRST SENTENCE: THE SUCCESS HITHERTO ACHIEVED BY THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE IS UNTHINKABLE WITHOUT THE WEST EUROPEAN CONTRIBUTION. WEST EUROPEAN ECONOMIC INTEGRATION, DESPITE ALL THE DIFFICULTIES IT HAS HAD TO OVERCOME, HAS MADE SPECTACULAR PROGRESS. IT IS CONSIDERED BY MANY AS THE GREATEST OF ALL THE CHANGES IN THE LAST QUARTER CENTURY: IT HAS FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGED THE EQUILIBRIUM OF THE ATLANTIC SYSTEM -- SO MUCH SO THAT THIS SYSTEM HAS ASSUMED TRAITS OF A BILATERALISM BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. ITS HEALTHY EFFECTS GO FAR BEYOND THE STABILIZATION OF THE ATLANTIC ECONOMY THROUGH A COMMON MARKET OF CONTINENTAL SIZE. IT IS FROM THE OUTSET ESSENTIALLY A POLITICAL PHENOMENON, DUE TO ITS INTEGRATING FACTORS (COMMON LAW, COMMON OR COORDINATED POLICIES, QUASI-FEDERAL INSTITUTIONS); ITS AIMS, TOO, ARE BASICALLY POLITICAL: PEACE AMONG THE COMMUNITY MEMBERS, EXTERNAL SECURITY VIS-A-VIS POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES, THE EXPRESSION OF A POLITICAL WILL WITH ONE VOICE, THE ASSUMPTION OF WORLD RESPONSIBILITY IN IMPORTANT FIELDS (LIKE DEVELOPMENT POLICY). ITS EVOLUTION INTO A EUROPEAN UNION IN THIS DECADE HAS THEREFORE BEEN OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED BY THE SUMMIT CONFERENCE OF THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN OCTOBER 1972. IT WOULD BE ABSURD IF ALL THIS INCREASE OF FORCE AND POTENTIALITY WERE NOT EXPLOITED IN THE INTEREST OF THE WHOLE ATLANTIC WORLD BUT NEUTRALIZED BY INTERNAL CONTROVERSIES.

CHAPTER ONE GENERAL INTRODUCTION, PARAGRAPH 9.

MONSIEUR HABIB-DELONCLE PREFERS THE FOLLOWING WORDING
FOR THE FOURTH SENTENCE: THE UNITED STATES AND THE
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06 STATE 193188

EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SHOULD DEVELOP THEIR COOPERATION
ON A BASIS OF EQUALITY AND ORGANIZE A CONTRUCTIVE
DIALOGUE. THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE SHOULD
BE CLOSELY INVOLVED IN THE PROCESS OF THIS
RELATIONSHIP WHICH MUST ALSO TAKE

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PFOR
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 SEP 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973STATE193188
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EUR/RPM:RHFROWICK:DJM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730963/abqceitj.tel
Line Count: 229
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: LONDON 10645 NOTAL
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: willialc
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 SEP 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24-Sep-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <28-Jan-2002 by willialc>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: THE COMMITTEE OF NINE: ANNEX TWO OF FINAL REPORT
TAGS: NATO
To: AMSTERDAM
ANKARA
BONN
LISBON
LONDON
OSLO
OTTAWA

PARIS
ROME
NATO INFO ATHENS
BELGRADE
BRUSSELS
BUCHAREST
BUDAPEST
COPENHAGEN
THE HAGUE
LUXEMBOURG
MONTREAL
MOSCOW
PRAGUE
REYKJAVIK
SOFIA
TOKYO
TORONTO
TURIN
WARSAW
EC BRUSSELS
OECD PARIS
Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005